

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEHRAN 00442 01 OF 02 131614Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----007711 131700Z /43 S

O 131429Z JAN 78

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6383

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEHRAN 0442

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOV UX UN

SUBJ: WALDHEIM REPLY TO SECRETARY AND UN SPOKESMAN STATEMENT

REF: STATE 7101

1. ON EVENING JAN 13, WALDHEIM GAVE ME LETTER TO YOU, TOGETHER WITH TEXT OF ANNOUNCEMENT HE WILL MAKE IN JERUSALEM MEETING. HE SAID THAT ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE PUT OUT ABOUT 3:30 PM NEW YORK TIME JAN 13.

2. IN HANDING ME LETTER, WALDHEIM SAID IT WAS MAXIMUM HE COULD DO. HE STRESSED THAT GEN SIILASVUO WILL BE IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM AS AN OBSERVER, BUT THAT HE WOULD NOT SIT AT TABLE OR MAKE ANY INTERVENTIONS. WALDHEIM ASKED FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE IN HAVING ISRAELIS PROVIDE APPROPRIATE SEATING FOR HIM TO ACT AS AN OBSERVER.

3. WALDHEIM ALSO APOLOGIZED FOR SHORTNESS OF TIME

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INVOLVED IN PUBLICATION OF STAMENT. HE SAID HE HAD INTENDED TO PUT IT OUT TOMORROW, BUT WAS REMINDED THAT TOMORROW IS JEWISH SABBATH. HE SAID THAT BILL BUFFUM IN NEW YORK WAS COMPLETELY AU COURANT AND COULD ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS.

4. TEXT OF LETTER FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

DEAR CY,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 10 JANUARY.  
I APPRECIATE THE THOUGHT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THE PROBLEM  
OF UN PARTICIPATION IN THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND FOR YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
INEVITABLY VERY DELICATE POSITION OF THE SECRETARY-  
GENERAL IN THIS MATTER. IN ORDER TO BE SURE THAT WE  
UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER FULLY, I FEEL THAT I SHOULD  
RESPOND TO THE VARIOUS POINTS YOU HAVE MADE.

I THINK WE AGREE THAT MY PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM  
WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE. I HAVE NO MANDATE TO  
PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A MEETING, AND IN ANY CASE I DO  
NOT SEE WHAT ROLE I COULD, OR SHOULD, PLAY IN IT AT  
THE PRESENT STAGE.

AS FAR AS SOME OTHER FORM OF REPRESENTATION IS  
CONCERNED, I FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT A COMPLETELY NEGATIVE  
RESPONSE TO THE INVITATION WOULD BE MISUNDERSTOOD AND  
MIGHT ALSO POSSIBLY CONSTITUTE A SETBACK TO THE  
NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

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CERTAINLY MY DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE RESPONSE TO  
THIS INVITATION ARE IN NO SENSE A CRITICISM OF  
PRESIDENT SADAT'S INITIATIVE, WHICH, AS YOU MAY KNOW,  
I HAVE FREQUENTLY AND PUBLICLY PRAISED. THEY SPRING  
RATHER FROM THE NATURE AND AUTHORITY OF THE SECRETARY-  
GENERALSHIP AND THE HEATED CONTROVERSY WHICH HAS ARISEN  
OVER THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.  
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CANNOT IGNORE THE POINT OF VIEW OF  
AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP ON AN IMPORTANT  
POLITICAL QUESTION - A GROUP WHICH INCLUDES IN THIS CASE  
ONE OF THE TWO CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.  
NOR IS IT PRODUCTIVE FOR HIM TO TAKE INDEPENDENT ACTIONS  
ON A MATTER BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITHOUT HAVING  
AN ADEQUATE MANDATE. IF HE DOES THIS, HE IS LIKELY TO  
BE CHALLENGED AND TO FIND HIMSELF ON VERY WEAK  
CONSITUTIONAL GROUND. MOREOVER THE RESULTING  
CONTROVERSY, AS WE KNOW FROM BITTER EXPERIENCE, TENDS  
SERIOUSLY TO COMPLICATE EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM AT  
HAND.

I SENT GENERAL SIILASVUO TO CAIRO IN THE FULL

KNOWLEDGE THAT MY DECISION WOULD BE CRITICISED IN SOME  
QUARTERS, AS INDEED IT WAS. I FELT JUSTIFIED IN DOING  
THIS BECAUSE ALL THE PARTIES AND THE TWO CO-CHAIRMEN HAD  
BEEN INVITED TO THE CAIRO CONFERENCE AND BECAUSE IT WAS  
A PLENARY MEETING SPECIFICALLY CALLED TO DISCUSS THE  
PROCEDURE FOR PREPARING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IS ONE OF TWO SUBSTANTIVE  
WORKING GROUPS SET UP FOR THE PURPOSE OF SUBSTANTIVE  
NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO OF THE PARTIES. AS SUCH, IT  
HAS BEEN STRONGLY CRITICISED BY SOME OF THE OTHER PARTIES  
TO THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. IN ANY CASE AND IN ANY  
CIRCUMSTANCES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IS NOT IN A POSITION  
TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SUCH SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS  
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WITHOUT A SPECIFIC MANDATE FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL.  
FOR REASONS I HAVE STATED BEFORE, AND WITH WHICH I BELIEVE  
YOU AGREE, I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR ME TO  
SEEK SUCH A MANDATE IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. A SOLUTION  
WHICH WILL BOTH MEET YOUR PREOCCUPATIONS AND ALSO, I HOPE,  
AVOID A PUBLIC CHALLENGE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WHILE IT  
IS CERTAINLY TRUE AS YOU SAY, THAT THE PRESENT TALKS  
HAVE RECEIVED WIDE SUPPORT IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THAT  
SUPPORT IS NOT UNANIMOUS, AND AMONG THE OPPOSITION THERE  
ARE GOVERNMENTS WHOSE VIEWS I, AS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF  
THE UN, CANNOT IGNORE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEHRAN 0442

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SULLIVAN

HOWEVER, I AM ANXIOUS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM WHICH WILL ASSIST THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS AND DEMONSTRATE CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT SADAT'S COURAGEOUS INITIATIVE. NATURALLY, I AM ALSO ANXIOUS TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S AND YOUR VIEWS IN THIS MATTER.

I HAVE THEREFORE REVISED ONCE AGAIN THE STATEMENT WHICH I PROPOSE TO MAKE ON THIS MATTER AND I ATTACH A COPY TO THIS LETTER. AS YOU WILL SEE, THIS BROADENS THE ROLE OF GENERAL SIILASVUO, AND I PROPOSE TO INSTRUCT HIM TO BE PRESENT AT MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEE, ALTHOUGH HE WILL NOT BE A PARTICIPANT AT THE TABLE, BUT WILL FOLLOW THE PROCEEDINGS AS AN OBSERVER.

I HOPE THAT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS AS FAR AS I CAN POSSIBLY GO. IN FACT, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THESE ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE EVEN MORE STRONGLY ATTACKED BY THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY OPPOSED THE PRESENCE OF A UN REPRESENTATIVE IN CAIRO.

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I WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD DO YOUR BEST TO ENSURE THE UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN GIVING EFFECT TO THIS ARRANGEMENT.

WITH WARM REGARDS,  
(SIGNED) KURT WALDHEIM

UNQUOTE.

5. TEXT OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY UN SPOKESMAN

THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS CONTINUING TO FOLLOW WITH THE CLOSEST INTEREST CURRENT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

DESIGNATED LT. GEN. SIILASVUO, CHIEF CO-ORDINATOR OF U.N. PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TO BE PRESENT AT THE CAIRO PLENARY MEETING IN PREPARATION FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SO AS TO KEEP HIM INFORMED OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS.

THE CAIRO CONFERENCE HAS NOW SPLIT UP INTO TWO WORKING COMMITTEES, ONE IN JERUSALEM AND ONE IN CAIRO. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS BEEN INVITED EITHER TO ATTEND OR TO SD REPRESENTATIVE TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN JERUSALEM. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL NOT HIMSELF  
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BE PRESENT AT THIS MEETING.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THESE NEW WORKING ARRNGEMENTS AND HAVING IN MIND THE EXISTING INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN PEACE-KEEPING IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL INSTRUCT GENERAL SIILASVUO, WHOSE HEADQUARTERS IS IN GOVERNMENT HOUSE, JERUSALEM, TO FOLLOW THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. FOR THIS PURPOSE GENERAL SIILASVUO WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO RECEIVE INFORMATION FROM THE PARTIES CONCERNING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO ANY MATTERS DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE UNITED NATIONS. HE WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO TRANSMIT RELEVANT INFORMATION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SO THAT HE IN TURN MAY KEEP THE COMPETENT ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS INFORMED AS APPROPRIATE.

UNQUOTE.

6. WALDHEIM PARTY LEAVES TOMORROW MORNING FOR CYPRUS.  
SULLIVAN

SECRET

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## Message Attributes

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